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133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
187 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[54] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself. Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
325 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

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consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a Čipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild animals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence, whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substitution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon." In some Čipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

/332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attributed to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochirí region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando (Prospero). "Wallallao. Ceremonias Gentílicas realizadas en la Región Cisandina del Perú Central /Wallallao. Pagan Ceremonies carried out in the Cisandean Region of Central Peru/." Inca, Lima, Vol. I. No. 2. 1923. pp. 475-549, 510, 532, 545.

2:Métraux--109 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Fig. 36. — A. Čipaya Indian in festival clothes. Notice the crown of flamingo eggs on the head. B. Čipaya Indian equipped to participate in the Carnival dances. On his back a wild duck secured by means of a festive sling and the straw bola perdida.

[824]
[982]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

fered to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulas with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by *Métraux* (1935 c, pp. 398–418) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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